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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:
INDO-EUROPEAN FASCICLE ONE

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1. Branches of the Indo-European family
2. Italic
3. Germanic
4. Celtic
5. Slavic
6. Baltic
7. Greek
8. Albanian
9. Armenian
10. Iranian
11. Indic
12. Dardic

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separate Modern Greek languages.

The remaining offshoot of Indo-European included in this report--but not in the sense of being the last to depart from a putative Indo-European homeland--is universally regarded as one main Indo-Iranian branch. Two sub-branches of this main branch are distinguished without controversy--Iranian and Indic. Though the Dardic languages unquestionably belong in the Indo-Iranian branch, postulation of its sub-relationship has shifted. First, Dardic was classified within the Iranian sub-branch (by Grierson, possibly because the nearest neighbors of Dardic are speakers of Iranian languages); next Dardic was reclassified within the Indic sub-branch--but also as a coordinate Dardic sub-branch. Linguistic criteria--but different ones--are offered by different Indo-Iranian specialists for classifying Dardic as a member of the Indic sub-branch, and also for classifying Dardic as a sub-branch coordinate with Indic on the one hand, and Iranian on the other hand. For purposes of this report, we list the Iranian languages in one group below (10), without including Dardic among them, since Grierson did not cite common innovations to justify an Iranian-Dardic split from proto-Indo-Iranian. For different reasons, we list Indic languages in one group below (11), and then list Dardic languages finally (12). But this sectional segregation of Dardic, after Indic, does not reflect an independent examination and critical conclusion on whether common innovations justify sub-relating Dardic with Indic, or not.

All those who use this report on Indo-European languages will be happy to learn that relevant parts of the report were read critically by consultants

THE DARDIC BRANCH OR SUB-BRANCH OF INDO-EUROPEAN

A score of Dardic (Pisacha) languages are spoken in Afghanistan and adjacent West Pakistan and India. The Dardic linguistic area extends south of the Hindu Kush Mountains from Nuristan (formerly Kafiristan) in Afghanistan in the west, to the Chitral country and the Indus and Swat Kohistan of extreme northern West Pakistan in the center, and to the Jammu and Kashmir area on both sides of the U.N. Cease Fire Line between India and Pakistan in the east. The conventional name for the region inhabited by Dardic speakers (excluding Afghanistan) is Dardistan. Kashmiri is the only Dardic language with a literary tradition. The Dardic languages possess, in almost unaltered form, words which in India are seldom found except in Vedic Sanskrit. These words are in common use in Dardic. In each Dardic language there is also a small element of Burushaski spoken immediately to the northeast of Shina (but Burushaski is neither Indo-European nor Dravidian).

The linguistic neighbors of the Dardic languages are Pashto (Iranian), the Ghalchah languages (also Iranian), the uniquely unrelated Burushaski language, several Sino-Tibetan languages, and a few Indic languages: Pahari, Lahnda and Punjabi. The geographic position of these languages vis-à-vis the Dardic languages is west and southwest (Pashto), northwest (Ghalchah), northeast (Burushaski and Sino-Tibetan), southeast (Pahari), and south (Lahnda and Punjabi).

The Indo-European branch affiliation of the Dardic languages is clear, but not entirely so. There is apparent consensus in the conclusion of two recent scholars (Morgenstierne, Emeneau): Dardic belongs in the Indic branch of Indo-European. The view of earlier scholarship (Grierson and others) was

that the Dardic languages belong in the Iranian branch of Indo-European—
an offshoot of Iranian—as shown in the following chart:



A third view on the classification of Dardic places these languages in a third branch of the Indo-European family, beside Iranian and Indic, in South Asia. This view is maintained, for example, by Muhammad Shuja Nazmus, *Origin of Shina Language*, *Pakistani Linguistics* (1962), Anwar S. Dil, ed., 1963, pp. 55-60.

Population figures for most of the Dardic languages are not available. Kashmiri may have several millions of speakers; Shina 100,000; and the rest not more than tens of thousands for each language. A reasonable total would be less than a half million (if Kashmiri were excluded).

The list of Dardic languages below, is divided into the three major groups given by all investigators:

Western Dardic (Kafir)

Central Dardic (Khowar)

Eastern Dardic (Dard).

The group or branch names appear as center heads below followed by a discussion of the language-dialect problem for each. The boundary between language and dialect is not always determined, but it is still possible to indicate clearly the relative magnitude of diversity for each of the three groups. There are a dozen languages in the Western Dardic (Kafir) group, but a single language constitutes the Central Dardic (Khowar) group. There are a half dozen languages in the Eastern Dardic (Dard) group—more or

less, depending on whether the languages counted after Phalura are separate languages or dialects of Phalura.

WESTERN DARDIC

(KAFIR)

The dozen languages of this group are spoken mainly in the Nuristan (Kafiristan) region of Afghanistan north of the Kabul River and in adjoining West Pakistan. One of the Kafir languages, Tirahi, is separated from the others, being located south of the Kabul River west of the Khyber Pass. Tirahi is entirely surrounded by Pashto (Iranian) speakers.

(1) Bashgali (Kati) is spoken on the Afghan-Pakistan border north of the Bashgal River and west of the Kumar. A fairly divergent dialect of Bashgali is spoken by settlers from Kandesh in Lower Chitral and known locally as Shekhari.

Other dialects of Bashgali, beside Shekhani, are:

Western Kati

Bedimuk

Bargromatal.

(2) Wai-ala (Wai).

(3) Wasi-veri (Veron); languages (2) and (3) are spoken in Afghanistan next to Bashgali (1).

(4) Ashkund is spoken north of Pashai in Afghanistan.

(5) Kalasha is spoken in a few villages along the Kumar River, southwest of Drosh, Pakistan.

(6) Gavar-bati (Narsati) is spoken in Southern Chitral, south of Kalasha, on the left bank of the Kumar River and in several villages on the Afghan side of the border. The Shumasht dialect is heavily influenced by Pashai; this

dialect is isolated from the others. Shumasht speakers live 60 miles further up the Kunar River on the Chitral frontier.

(7) Pashai (Laghmani, Deghani) is spoken in Afghanistan between Nuristan and the Kabul River. More specifically, Pashai is spoken from the Kunar Valley in the east across various tributaries of the Kabul River to the Panjshir Valley in the northwest. According to Georg Morgenstierne (Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, Vol. 3, Oslo, 1944) Pashai is split into a large number of mutually incomprehensible dialects, namely:

Gulbahar

Chilas

Aret

Wegal

Darra-i Nur

Laurowan.

Morgenstierne leaves no doubt that '...in spite of all dialectal differences... Pashai is decidedly one language, well defined through phonetical, and especially through morphological and lexical peculiarities' (Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India, Det Mallingske Bogtrykkeri, Oslo, 1932, p.24).

(8) Bashkarik is spoken in several villages in Dir Kohistan. Diri, mentioned by Grierson, is a form of Bashkarik.

(9) Tirahi is spoken in a few Afghanistan villages southeast of Jalalabad and west of the Khyber Pass. Tirahi, of all the Kafir languages, is most closely related to Kohistani.

(10) Prasun may possibly be a separate language; if not, it is a divergent dialect of Bashgali (1). Prasun is spoken in Chitral in the

villages of Usut, Zumu and Saici. It is very closely related to Bashgali, but is more archaic. It is probable that Prasun is a remnant of a very ancient population (Morgenstierne, 1932). Prasun has more influence from Iranian than any other language in the Western Dardic (Kafir) group.

Other languages or dialects in this group are:

(11) Gujuri, spoken in a few hamlets in the Shishi Valley and elsewhere in Chitral;

(12) Waigeli and Zhonjigali (with corresponding village names).

CENTRAL DARDIC

(KHOWAR)

The Khowar language (Chitrali, Chatrari, Arniya) is the sole member of this group. Of the eleven languages of Chitral, Khowar is the most important. Due to recent dispersal of Khowar speakers, there are as yet no very pronounced dialectal variations in the Khowar language. Grierson believes Khowar to be very closely related to an Iranian group of languages known as the Ghalchah languages which are spoken immediately northwest of the area occupied by Khowar speakers. Morgenstierne views Khowar as clearly Indic, despite its being flanked by Iranian languages. There is a non-Indic as well as non-Iranian component in Khowar; it contains a considerable number of lexical items of unknown etymology which are apparently neither Indic nor Iranian, but possibly Burushaski which is also neither Indic nor Iranian. But Khowar is at least an Indo-European language, while Burushaski is not. Khowar is number (13) in our list of Dardic languages.

EASTERN DARDIC

(DARD)

The half dozen languages in this final group of Dardic languages

are found in a wide area in eastern Peshawar in Pakistan and in Jammu and Kashmir on both sides of the U.N. Cease Fire Line. Kashmiri, the easternmost language of this group, has been estimated to have as few as one and a half million speakers and as many as three or four million speakers.

(14) Shina, with perhaps as many as 100,000 speakers, is spoken in Jammu and Kashmir from the Afghan and Pakistan borders to the U.N. Cease Fire Line. The main dialects listed below are those given by T. Grahame Bailey (Grammar of the Shina Language, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1924):

Gilgiti

Astori

Kohistani.

From Grierson the Bailey list can be expanded to include:

Chilasi

Gurezi

Brokpa.

On the north, the Shina dialects are bordered by Burushaski; on the northeast and east, by Balti and Ladakhi (Sino-Tibetan languages); and elsewhere, by other Dardic languages.

(15) Kashmiri is spoken in Jammu and Kashmir on both sides (but mostly south) of the U.N. Cease Fire Line, south of the area occupied by the Shina (14). In the southwest, Kashmiri is bordered by Lahnda; in the south, by Panjabi speakers; and in the southeast, by Pahari speakers. Virtually the only information we have concerning Kashmiri dialects comes from Grierson who lists three Kashmiri dialects:

Standard Kashmiri

Kashtawari

Transitional (to Punjabi).

(16) Kohistani is spoken mainly in the Swat Kohistan of West Pakistan. The number of speakers, reported to be 7,000 by Sumit Kumar Chatterji (Indo-Aryan and Hindi, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1960), seems to be too low. There are three Kohistani dialects (possibly separate languages):

Torwali

Garwi

Maiya (of Mayo District, Indus Kohistan).

(17) Phalura (Palula) is spoken by 800 to 1,000 speakers in a few villages in side valleys on the eastern side of the lower Chitral Valley. This language has been discovered since Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India. One of the interesting phonological features of the Dardic languages generally is deaspiration of voiced stops — a development that is presumably recent since it is still incomplete in some Dardic languages. Phalura is in this respect more archaic than the other Dardic languages, since it maintains a series of aspirated voiced stops, recently interpreted as clusters of stop plus /h/ by Georg Morgenstierne (Notes on Phalura, Videnskaps-Akademi i, Oslo, 1941).

Three languages closely related to Phalura are spoken in:

(18) Sau (on the Kunar River in Afghanistan);

(19) Ashret (in Dir Kohistan, Pakistan);

(20) Damel (in the Gid Valley on the east side of the Kunar River in Southern Chitral, Pakistan).

Phalura (17), together with the unnamed languages numbered (18), (19) and (20), has been called Dangarik. Further information is expected to

show that (18), (19), and (20) are not separate languages, coordinate with Phalura, but rather, with Phalura, divergent dialects of a single Dangarik language.

DARDIC SOUND SYSTEMS

Pashai (Laurowani dialect, after Morgenstierne, 1944) and Kohistani (Torwali dialect, after George A. Grierson, Torwali, an Account of a Dardic Language of the Swat Kohistan, Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Vol. 9, London, 1929) have relatively simple consonant (especially stop) systems:

p	t	ṭ	č	k	
pʰ	tʰ	ṭʰ	čʰ	kʰ	
b	d	ḍ	ž	g	
	s		š	x	h
	z		ž	ɣ	
m	n				
	l				
	r	ṛ			
w				y	

The above system is exactly that of Torwali (excluding sporadically occurring voiced aspirated stops which are being replaced by unaspirated ones). For Pashai add /s z/.

The most elaborate consonant system of all the Dardic languages is to be found in Phalura (Morgenstierne, 1941):

p	t	c	ṭ	c̣	č	k
pʰ	tʰ	cʰ	ṭʰ	c̣ʰ	čʰ	kʰ
b	d	ɟ	ḍ	ɟ̣	ž	g

	s	ṣ	ʃ	x	h
	z		ʒ	y	
m	n	ṇ			
	l				
	r	ṛ			
w			y		

In addition one should mention the aspirated voiced stops (and affricate) considered to be clusters of stop + /h/ by Morgenstierne due to an intervening phonetic vowel quality. These clusters include /bh dh ḍh ʒh gh/.

The consonant system of Gawar-bati is almost as diversified as that of Phalura, lacking only /z ẓ/ but adding /L/, described as a 'pure unvoiced l' by Georg Morgenstierne (Notes on Gawar-bati, Videnskaps-Akademi i, Oslo, 1950). Also, in Gawar-bati, voiced aspirated stops are rapidly being replaced by unaspirated ones.

The Shina consonant system (after Bailey, 1924) differs from Phalura and Gawar-bati only slightly:

p	t	ṭ	c̣	č	k
p'	t'	ṭ'	c̣'	č'	k'
b	d	ḍ	ʒ̣	ʒ̣	g
f	s	ʂ		ʃ	h
v	z	ẓ		ʒ	
m	n	ṇ			
	l				
	r	ṛ			
				v	

The Kashmiri consonant system (the dialect of the educated people of the city of Srinagar, as described by Ashok R. Kelkar and Pran Nath Trisal, *Kashmiri Word Phonology*—AL 6.1.13-22, 1964) differs from other Dardic languages chiefly in that it contains only three fricatives:

p	t	c	ṭ	ʃ	k
pʰ	tʰ	cʰ	ṭʰ	ʃʰ	kʰ
b	d	ʒ	ḍ	ʒ̣	g
	s		ʂ		h
m	n				
	l				
	r				
w	ɣ			y	

/ɣ/ is described as a high central unrounded semivowel.

Like the consonant systems, the vowel systems of Dardic languages are fairly homogeneous, ranging from the 2 (FB) over N type, /i e a o u/, plus length (and in some cases also infrequent nasalization) in Gwar-bati, Kohistani and Phalura, to a 2 (FCB) over N type, /i e ɛ a o u/, plus length in Kashmiri.

A different seven vowel system occurs in Bashkarik (Morgenstierne, 1941):

i		u
e	ə̃	o
æ		a

The exact vowel system of Shira has not been clearly stated, but there is some evidence for phonemic tone in this language, as witness

lél blood (with level tone), contrasting with lél visible, (with low rising tone).